

Women in politics

Why are they under-represented? Does it matter?

Pamela Campa

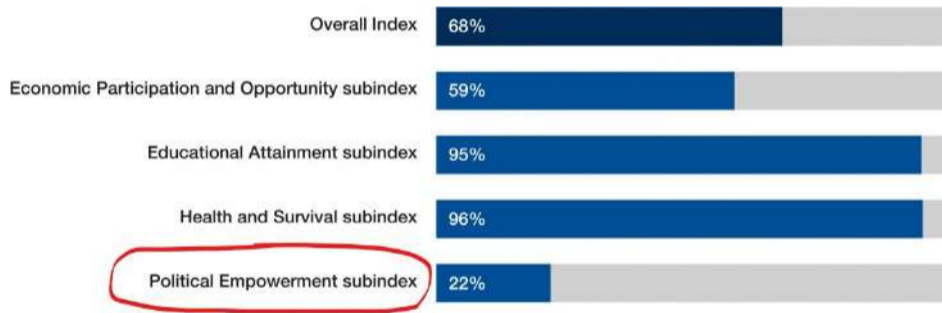
NES Public Lecture, November 13



STOCKHOLM INSTITUTE OF
TRANSITION ECONOMICS

Persistent under-representation of women in political decision-making. Progress is slow and scattered.

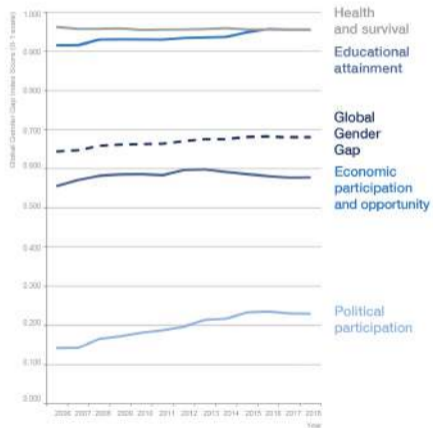
Global Gender Gap Report, overall index and sub-indexes



Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2018.

Note: Population-weighted averages. Covers all 149 countries featured in the 2018 index.

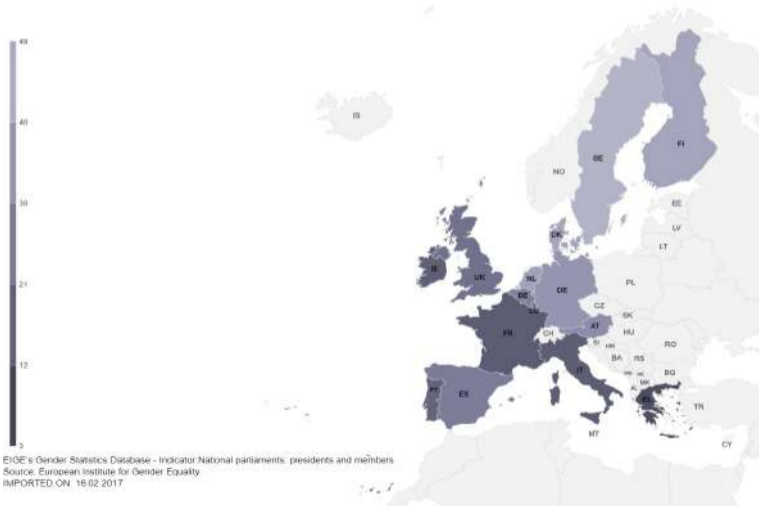
Progress on closing the Global Gender Gap



Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2018, World Economic Forum

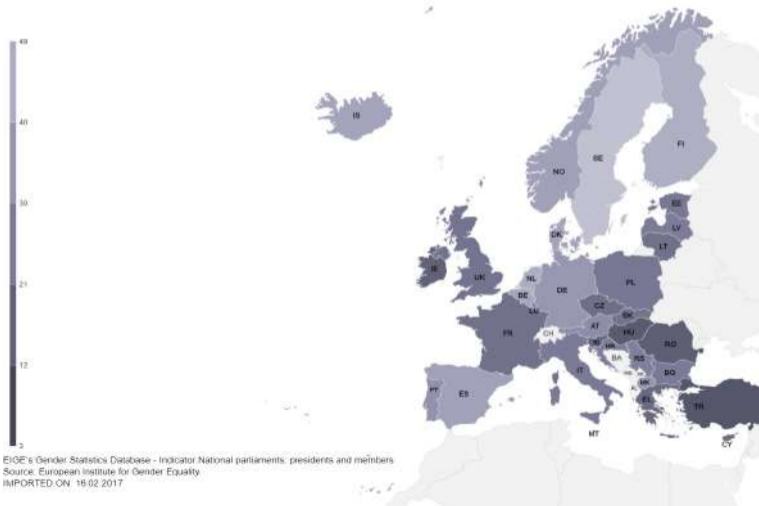
Share of women in lower house parliaments in Europe - 1999

21.7%



Share of women in lower house parliaments in Europe - 2009

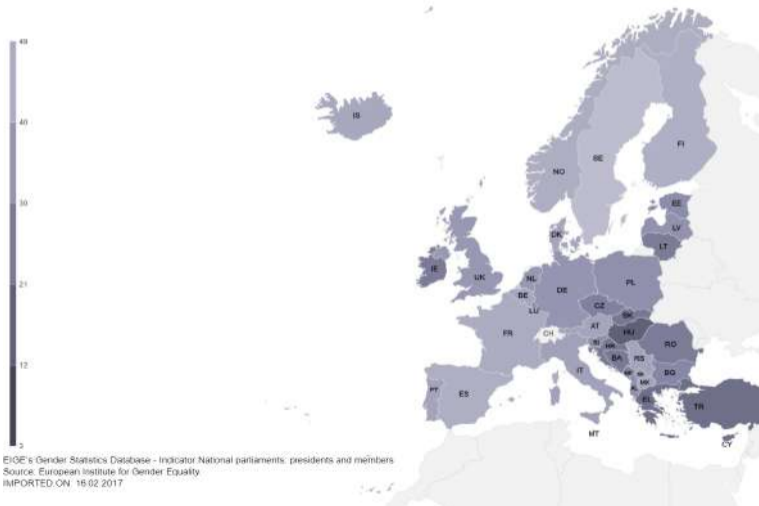
24%



EIGE's Gender Statistics Database - Indicator National parliaments, presidents and members
Source: European Institute for Gender Equality
IMPORTED ON: 16.02.2017

Share of women in lower house parliaments in Europe - 2019

32%



EIGE's Gender Statistics Database - Indicator National parliaments, presidents and members
Source: European Institute for Gender Equality
IMPORTED ON: 16.02.2017

Share of women in municipal councils in Europe - 2011

30.5%



EUROSTAT's Gender Statistics Database - Indicator Local municipal councils: mayors or other leaders and members
Source: European Institute for Gender Equality
IMPORTED ON: 20.02.2017

Share of women in municipal councils in Europe - 2019

32.6%

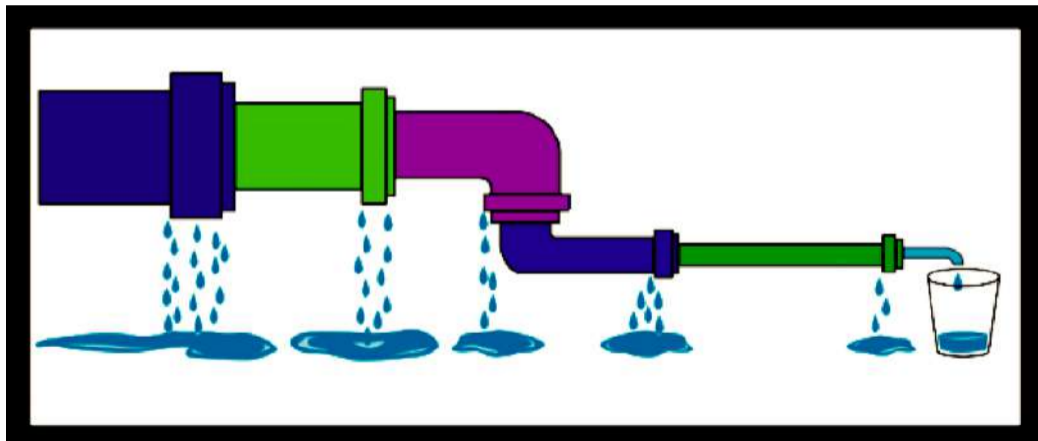


EUROSTAT's Gender Statistics Database - Indicator Local municipal councils: mayors or other leaders and members
Source: European Institute for Gender Equality
IMPORTED ON: 20.02.2017

Under-representation larger and progress slower as seniority of position increases

Under-representation larger and progress slower as seniority of position increases

⇒ **The leaky pipeline**



Countries with Women Head of Government - 1999



Source: Wikipedia

Countries with Women Head of Government - 2009



Source: Wikipedia

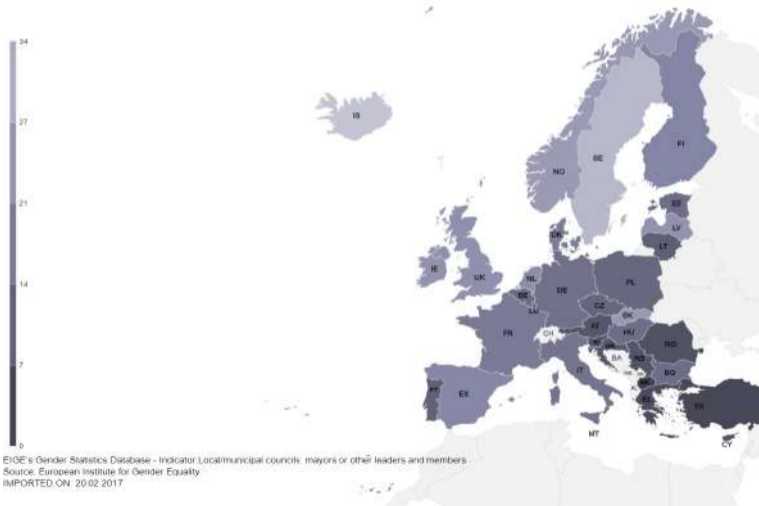
Countries with Women Head of Government - 2019



Source: UN women and Inter-Parliamentary Union

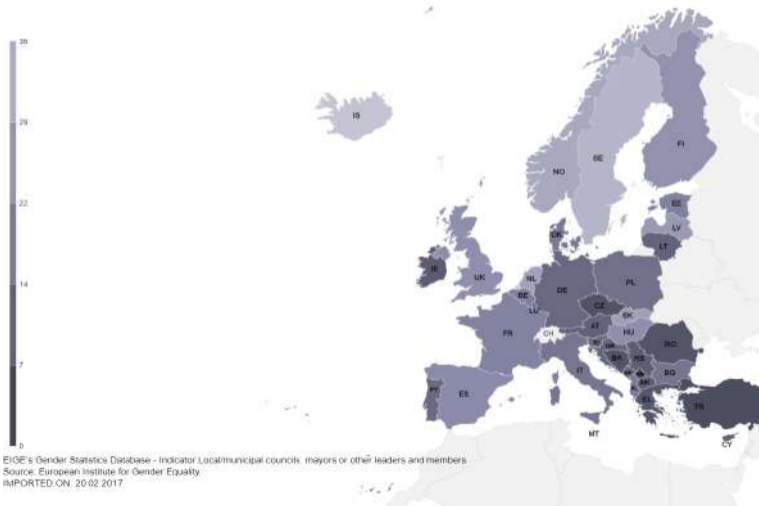
Share of female mayors in Europe - 2011

13.2%



Share of female mayors in Europe - 2019

15.4%



EIGE's Gender Statistics Database - Indicator Local/municipal councils, mayors or other leaders and members
Source: European Institute for Gender Equality
IMPORTED ON: 20/02/2017

- ▶ Globally 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995

- ▶ Globally 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995
- ▶ As of January 2019, 21% of government ministers worldwide were women. Five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers: Social Affairs; followed by Family/Children/Youth/Elderly/Disabled; Environment/Natural Resources/Energy; Employment/Labour/Vocational Training; and Trade/Industry

- ▶ Globally 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995
- ▶ As of January 2019, 21% of government ministers worldwide were women. Five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers: Social Affairs; followed by Family/Children/Youth/Elderly/Disabled; Environment/Natural Resources/Energy; Employment/Labour/Vocational Training; and Trade/Industry
- ▶ Women are 30% of ministers in EU. Positive trend, with ups and downs

- ▶ Globally 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995
- ▶ As of January 2019, 21% of government ministers worldwide were women. Five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers: Social Affairs; followed by Family/Children/Youth/Elderly/Disabled; Environment/Natural Resources/Energy; Employment/Labour/Vocational Training; and Trade/Industry
- ▶ Women are 30% of ministers in EU. Positive trend, with ups and downs
- ▶ Ursula von der Leyen first female President of the European Commission, starting on November 2019. Commission established by the treaty of Rome, 1957

- ▶ Globally 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995
- ▶ As of January 2019, 21% of government ministers worldwide were women. Five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers: Social Affairs; followed by Family/Children/Youth/Elderly/Disabled; Environment/Natural Resources/Energy; Employment/Labour/Vocational Training; and Trade/Industry
- ▶ Women are 30% of ministers in EU. Positive trend, with ups and downs
- ▶ Ursula von der Leyen first female President of the European Commission, starting on November 2019. Commission established by the treaty of Rome, 1957
- ▶ Never a female President in US history. Never a female prime minister in Sweden.

How about The Russian Federation?



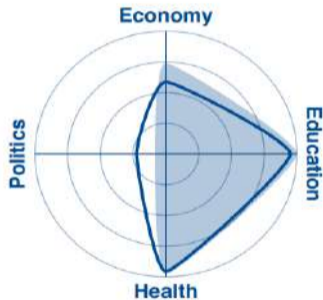
Global gender gap score

Russian Federation

rank **75**
out of 149 countries

score **0.701**
0.00 = parity
1.00 = parity

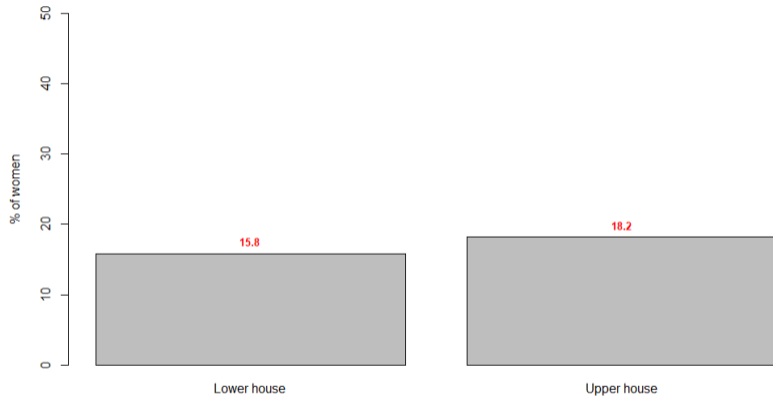
SCORE AT GLANCE



■ Russian Federation score

— average score

Proportion of Women in Parliament



Source: Women in politics 2019 map, UN women and IPU. Situation 1st Jan 2019.

Ministers of the Russian Federation

4 out of 31 positions are held by women



Minister of health



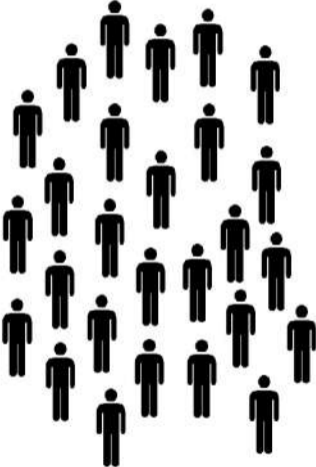
Minister of education



Deputy chairman for culture and sport



Deputy chairman for social affairs



- ▶ No woman head of state in the last century

- ▶ No woman head of state in the last century
- ▶ 85 federal subjects in the Russian federation. Only one woman: Governor of Yugra

- ▶ No woman head of state in the last century
- ▶ 85 federal subjects in the Russian federation. Only one woman: Governor of Yugra
- ▶ Woman Governor of St Petersburg from 2003 to 2011

- ▶ No woman head of state in the last century
- ▶ 85 federal subjects in the Russian federation. Only one woman: Governor of Yugra
- ▶ Woman Governor of St Petersburg from 2003 to 2011
- ▶ Woman speaker of the Parliament

Why are women under-represented in top political jobs?





Supply-side explanation: women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder

Women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder

Women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder Evidence?

Women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder Evidence?

⇒ US, survey of potential candidates. Women who share same personal characteristics and professional credentials as men express significantly lower levels of political ambition to hold elective office (Fox and Lawless, 2004).

Women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder Evidence?

⇒ US, survey of potential candidates. Women who share same personal characteristics and professional credentials as men express significantly lower levels of political ambition to hold elective office (Fox and Lawless, 2004).

What explains the gender gap?

Women less willing to enter politics and climb the career ladder Evidence?

⇒ US, survey of potential candidates. Women who share same personal characteristics and professional credentials as men express significantly lower levels of political ambition to hold elective office (Fox and Lawless, 2004).

What explains the gender gap?

⇒ Women less likely than men to be encouraged to run for office & to view themselves as qualified to run. Deep cause: political socialization = “parental encouragement, politicized educational and peer experiences, participation in competitive activities, and a sense of self-confidence” (Fox and Lawless, 2014).

What explains the gender gap? A few more candidate explanations:

What explains the gender gap? A few more candidate explanations:

- ▶ Women unwilling to enter a competition (Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007; Preece and Stoddardb, 2015).

What explains the gender gap? A few more candidate explanations:

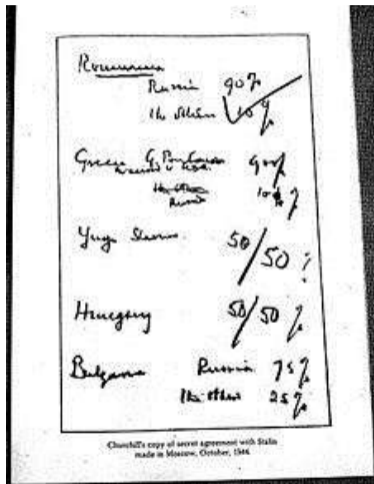
- ▶ Women unwilling to enter a competition (Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007; Preece and Stoddardb, 2015).
- ▶ Women more constrained by family and relational considerations (Folke and Rickne, 2018)

Some reflection points on supply-side factors:

Some reflection points on supply-side factors:

1. Attitudes can be shaped by context...⇒ Campa and Serafinelli, 2019

Figure: Percentages agreement from Churchill's *The Second World War*



Germany divided

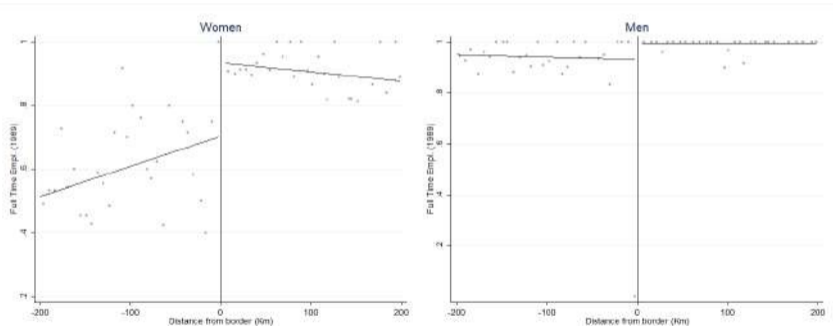


Figure: *International Women's Day*



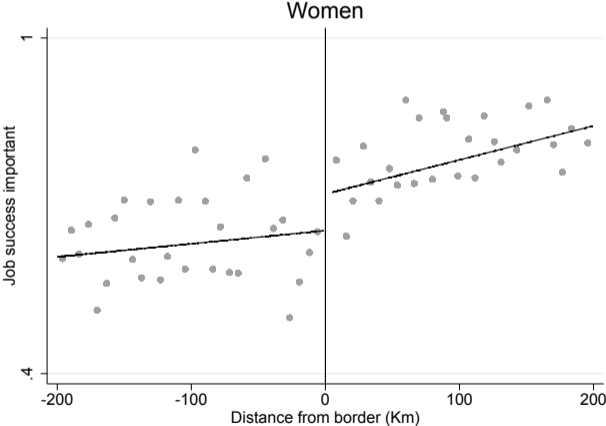
Employment, 1989

Figure: *State-Socialism and gender gap in the labor market*



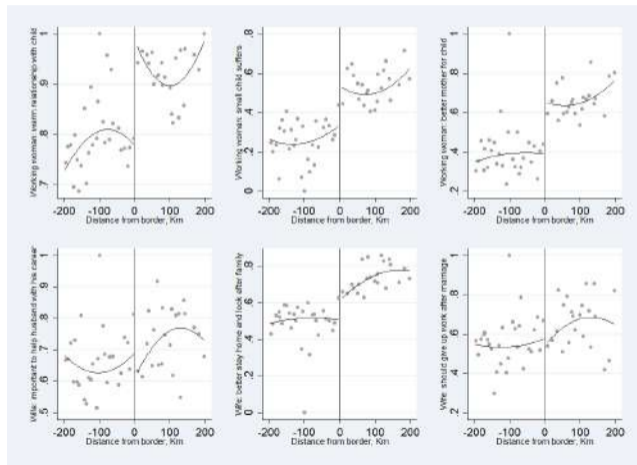
Job success important, 1990

Figure: State-Socialism and women's attitudes toward work



Gender specialization in the household, 1996

Figure: State-Socialism and gender-role attitudes



Some reflection points on supply-side factors:

1. Attitudes can be shaped by context... (Campa and Serafinelli, 2019)
2. ... and so are behavioural traits (Gneezy, Leonard, and List, 2005)

Some reflection points on supply-side factors:

1. Attitudes can be shaped by context... (Campa and Serafinelli, 2019)
2. ... and so are behavioural traits (Gneezy, Leonard, and List, 2005)
3. Difficult to consider supply in isolation from demand

Some reflection points on supply-side factors:

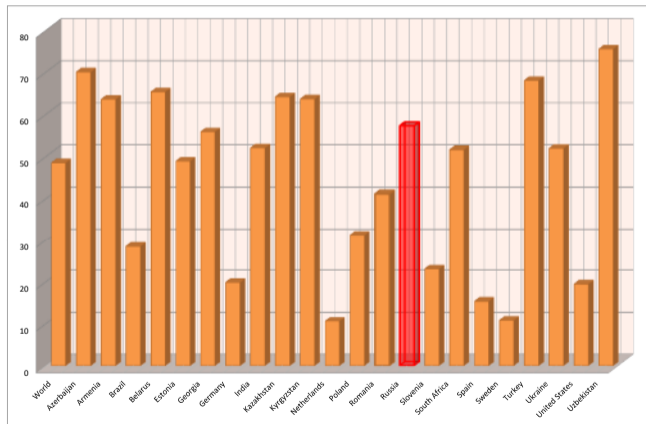
1. Attitudes can be shaped by context... (Campa and Serafinelli, 2019)
2. ... and so are behavioural traits (Gneezy, Leonard, and List, 2005)
3. Difficult to consider supply in isolation from demand
4. Differences in averages, but maybe what matters is the tail?



Demand-side explanation: voters and/or parties prefer male to female politicians

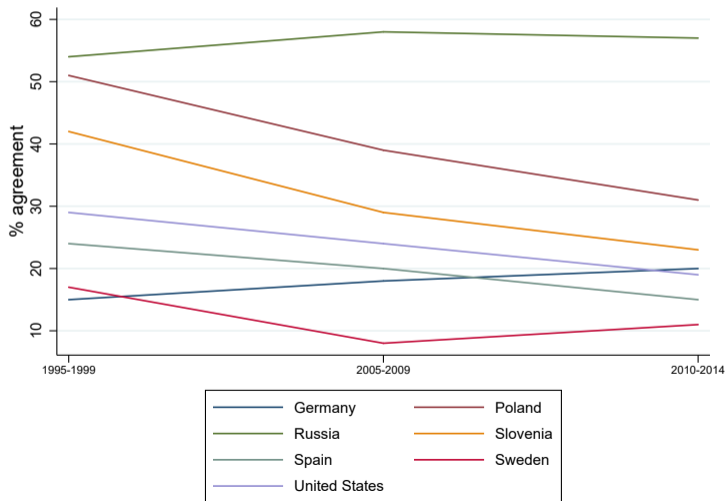
Are voters biased against female politicians?

Figure: Men make better political leaders than women do, % agreement



Are voters biased against female politicians?

Figure: Men make better political leaders than women do, % agreement



WVS does not ask opposite question

Are voters biased against female politicians? Evidence from Economics literature

Are voters biased against female politicians? Evidence from Economics literature

- ▶ Not much evidence of voters' bias overall. Bagues and Campa (2019): parties that are “forced” by gender quota to increase their share of female candidates do not experience worse electoral performance

How about parties?

How about parties?

Esteve-Volart and Bagues (2012) - Spanish parties tend to nominate female candidates to poorer positions on the ballot. Likely party bias, since female candidates attract more votes, and political competition improves quality of positions to which female candidates are assigned.

Why there are so few women in politics?

Why there are so few women in politics?

Overall, based on evidence from the field of Economics, women's lower propensity to run for political positions & parties bias \Rightarrow women's under-representation in political institutions. Less evidence for role of voters' bias.

Why there are so few women in politics?

Overall, based on evidence from the field of Economics, women's lower propensity to run for political positions & parties bias \Rightarrow women's under-representation in political institutions. Less evidence for role of voters' bias.

Important to keep in mind that supply and demand factors likely feed each other.

Does it matter?

Three arguments in favor of increased women's representation in politics (see Bertrand 2019)

Three arguments in favor of increased women's representation in politics (see Bertrand 2019)

1. Equality

Three arguments in favor of increased women's representation in politics (see Bertrand 2019)

1. Equality
2. Efficiency/quality

Three arguments in favor of increased women's representation in politics (see Bertrand 2019)

1. Equality
2. Efficiency/quality
3. Representativeness

Three arguments in favor of increased women's representation in politics (see Bertrand 2019)

1. Equality
2. Efficiency/quality
3. Representativeness

Equality argument powerful enough if there is evidence of discrimination

The efficiency argument

The efficiency argument

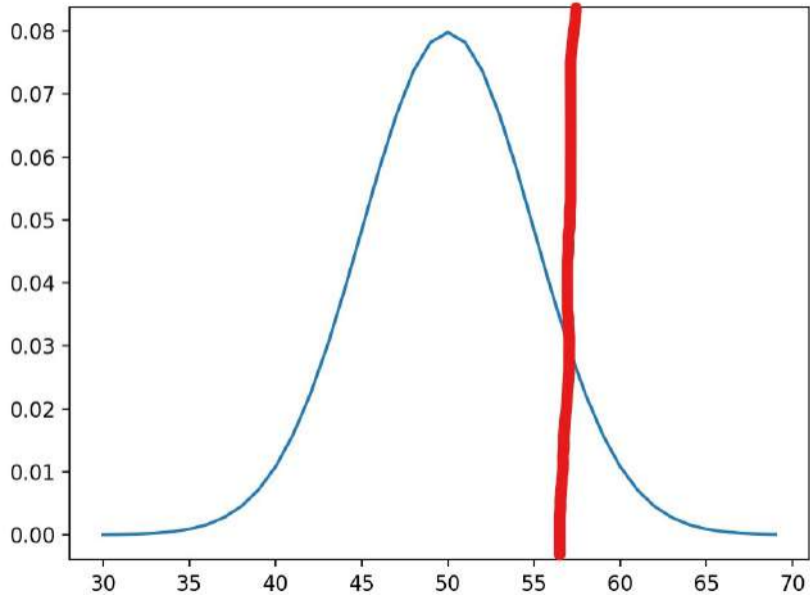
Choosing political leaders from a larger pool of talented people makes it more likely that we select the best candidates for the relevant job.

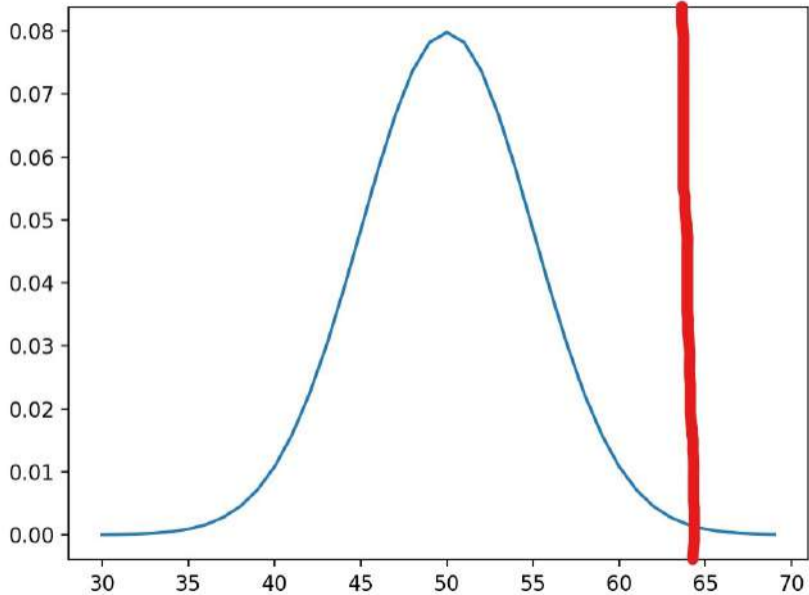
The efficiency argument

Choosing political leaders from a larger pool of talented people makes it more likely that we select the best candidates for the relevant job.

Underlying assumption: **talent equally distributed by gender**

What happens if we “oversample” men?





The efficiency argument: what is the evidence?

The efficiency argument: what is the evidence?

Introduction of gender quotas in local elections. What happens to the quality of politicians?

- ▶ Italy: ↑ education - women more educated, they displace less educated men (Baltrunaite, Bello, Casarico and Profeta (2014))

The efficiency argument: what is the evidence?

Introduction of gender quotas in local elections. What happens to the quality of politicians?

- ▶ Italy: ↑ **education** - women more educated, they displace less educated men (Baltrunaite, Bello, Casarico and Profeta (2014))
- ▶ Sweden: ↑ **competence of male politicians**; resignation of male mediocre leaders (“the crisis of the mediocre man”) (Besley, Folke, Persson and Rickne, 2017)

The efficiency argument: what is the evidence?

Introduction of gender quotas in local elections. What happens to the quality of politicians?

- ▶ Italy: ↑ **education** - women more educated, they displace less educated men (Baltrunaite, Bello, Casarico and Profeta (2014))
- ▶ Sweden: ↑ **competence of male politicians**; resignation of male mediocre leaders (“the crisis of the mediocre man”) (Besley, Folke, Persson and Rickne, 2017)
- ▶ Spain, small municipalities: = **education** (Bagues and Campa, 2018)

(To the best of my knowledge) *no evidence from Western democracies that quota decreases quality.*
Decrease in education in Indian villages (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

(To the best of my knowledge) *no evidence from Western democracies that quota decreases quality.*
Decrease in education in Indian villages (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

Note: not obvious what is a good measure of “quality”

The representativeness argument

The representativeness argument

Are women's preferences adequately represented in male-dominated organizations?



The representativeness argument: what is the evidence?

The representativeness argument: what is the evidence?

Women appear to have different preferences than men

The representativeness argument: what is the evidence?

Women appear to have different preferences than men

- ▶ Spain, survey: women more likely than men to report that unemployment, pensions, education, the status of the health system, drugs, youth problems, violence against women, women's problems in general, and social issues are a main concern to them. Men are significantly more concerned about housing, immigration, work conditions, politics, corruption, the status of infrastructure, environmental degradation, the judiciary system and agriculture, hunting and fishing (Bagues and Campa, 2018).

The representativeness argument: what is the evidence?

Women appear to have different preferences than men

- ▶ Spain, survey: women more likely than men to report that unemployment, pensions, education, the status of the health system, drugs, youth problems, violence against women, women's problems in general, and social issues are a main concern to them. Men are significantly more concerned about housing, immigration, work conditions, politics, corruption, the status of infrastructure, environmental degradation, the judiciary system and agriculture, hunting and fishing (Bagues and Campa, 2018).
- ▶ Switzerland, reported voting behavior in referenda: women show less support for increasing retirement age, nuclear energy, the military; more support for environmental protection, healthy life-style, equal rights for women, assistance to disabled (Funk and Gathmann, 2015)

The representativeness argument: what is the evidence?

Women appear to have different preferences than men

- ▶ Spain, survey: women more likely than men to report that unemployment, pensions, education, the status of the health system, drugs, youth problems, violence against women, women's problems in general, and social issues are a main concern to them. Men are significantly more concerned about housing, immigration, work conditions, politics, corruption, the status of infrastructure, environmental degradation, the judiciary system and agriculture, hunting and fishing (Bagues and Campa, 2018).
- ▶ Switzerland, reported voting behavior in referenda: women show less support for increasing retirement age, nuclear energy, the military; more support for environmental protection, healthy life-style, equal rights for women, assistance to disabled (Funk and Gathmann, 2015)
- ▶ USA, extension of suffrage to women: immediate increases in state government expenditures and revenue and more liberal voting patterns for federal representatives (Lott and Kenny, 1999)

Do differences in preferences translate into different policy decisions?

2 types of studies:

- ▶ Gender quotas
- ▶ Woman wins against man by narrow margin

2 types of studies:

- ▶ Gender quotas
- ▶ Woman wins against man by narrow margin

Evidence is mixed

Gender and policy

Gender and policy

- ▶ India: seat reservation for female head of villages; women prioritize more on areas where female voters are more likely to bring complains, e.g. drinking water infrastructure (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)

Gender and policy

- ▶ India: seat reservation for female head of villages; women prioritize more on areas where female voters are more likely to bring complains, e.g. drinking water infrastructure (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, policy changes; caste matters for type of change (Clots-Figueras, 2011)

Gender and policy

- ▶ India: seat reservation for female head of villages; women prioritize more on areas where female voters are more likely to bring complains, e.g. drinking water infrastructure (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, policy changes; caste matters for type of change (Clots-Figueras, 2011)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, higher education in corresponding districts, only in rural areas (Clots-Figueras, 2012)

Gender and policy

- ▶ India: seat reservation for female head of villages; women prioritize more on areas where female voters are more likely to bring complains, e.g. drinking water infrastructure (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, policy changes; caste matters for type of change (Clots-Figueras, 2011)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, higher education in corresponding districts, only in rural areas (Clots-Figueras, 2012)
- ▶ India: women elected in the State Legislatures, more public health facilities, increase in antenatal care visits, institutional delivery, and breastfeeding (Bhalotra and Clots-Figueras, 2014)

- ▶ India: seat reservation in States Legislatures, large and significant rise in documented crimes against women - reporting ↑ (Iyer, Mani, Mishra, and Topalova, 2015)

- ▶ India: seat reservation in States Legislatures, large and significant rise in documented crimes against women - reporting ↑ (Iyer, Mani, Mishra, and Topalova, 2015)
- ▶ Brazil: elected female mayors, less corruption and less political patronage, lower re-election probability (Brollo and Troiano, 2015)

- ▶ India: seat reservation in States Legislatures, large and significant rise in documented crimes against women - reporting ↑ (Iyer, Mani, Mishra, and Topalova, 2015)
- ▶ Brazil: elected female mayors, less corruption and less political patronage, lower re-election probability (Brollo and Troiano, 2015)
- ▶ USA: elected female mayors, no impact on size and composition of expenditures and crime rates (Ferreira and Gyourko, 2014)

- ▶ India: seat reservation in States Legislatures, large and significant rise in documented crimes against women - reporting ↑ (Iyer, Mani, Mishra, and Topalova, 2015)
- ▶ Brazil: elected female mayors, less corruption and less political patronage, lower re-election probability (Brollo and Troiano, 2015)
- ▶ USA: elected female mayors, no impact on size and composition of expenditures and crime rates (Ferreira and Gyourko, 2014)
- ▶ Spain: candidate gender quotas for municipal councillors, no significant changes in budget and socio-economic indicators (Bagues and Campa, 2018)

Rich evidence from India that gender of policy-makers matters

Rich evidence from India that gender of policy-makers matters

Surprisingly little evidence from Western democracies.

Rich evidence from India that gender of policy-makers matters

Surprisingly little evidence from Western democracies.

Women under-represented in politics. Issue in terms of equality, efficiency, and representativeness.

Women under-represented in politics. Issue in terms of equality, efficiency, and representativeness.

What to do?



1. Act on the “supply-side”

Evidence of gender differences in behavioural traits. “Soft measures” might work - e.g. prime other aspects of political jobs, rather than its competitiveness. Role for “schools of politics”?

1. Act on the “supply-side”

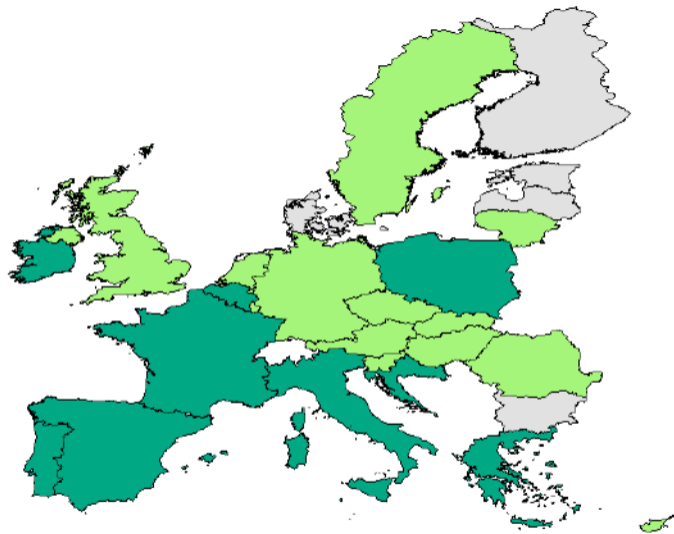
Evidence of gender differences in behavioural traits. “Soft measures” might work - e.g. prime other aspects of political jobs, rather than its competitiveness. Role for “schools of politics”?

Family-relational considerations: reforms probably should start from other labor markets - promote more egalitarian gender roles (paternity leaves? childcare? role models?)

2. "Stimulate demand"

2. “Stimulate demand”

Quota or not Quota?



■ Legislated quotas ■ Voluntary quotas ■ No quota

What do we know about quotas?

What do we know about quotas?

- ▶ They tend to increase women's representation in political office if they are properly designed (strategic positioning: “zipper” quota or double-preference system preferable)

What do we know about quotas?

- ▶ They tend to increase women's representation in political office if they are properly designed (strategic positioning: “zipper” quota or double-preference system preferable)
- ▶ Effects above and beyond the quota mandate? Plausible given recent evidence of “gendered group dynamics”. Mixed evidence from different contexts (India, Italy, Spain, Sweden)

What do we know about quotas?

- ▶ They tend to increase women's representation in political office if they are properly designed (strategic positioning: "zipper" quota or double-preference system preferable)
- ▶ Effects above and beyond the quota mandate? Plausible given recent evidence of "gendered group dynamics". Mixed evidence from different contexts (India, Italy, Spain, Sweden)
- ▶ Important to consider response from voters, it might amplify or diminish the quota impact. No evidence that voters respond to quota (Bagues and Campa, 2019; Besley et al., 2017)

What do we know about quotas?

- ▶ They tend to increase women's representation in political office if they are properly designed (strategic positioning: “zipper” quota or double-preference system preferable)
- ▶ Effects above and beyond the quota mandate? Plausible given recent evidence of “gendered group dynamics”. Mixed evidence from different contexts (India, Italy, Spain, Sweden)
- ▶ Important to consider response from voters, it might amplify or diminish the quota impact. No evidence that voters respond to quota (Bagues and Campa, 2019; Besley et al., 2017)
- ▶ Policy changes hard to measure. Also not obvious what should be the size of the mandated increase in female representation to achieve policy change. Too little evidence from Western democracies to draw conclusions

What do we know about quotas?

- ▶ They tend to increase women's representation in political office if they are properly designed (strategic positioning: “zipper” quota or double-preference system preferable)
- ▶ Effects above and beyond the quota mandate? Plausible given recent evidence of “gendered group dynamics”. Mixed evidence from different contexts (India, Italy, Spain, Sweden)
- ▶ Important to consider response from voters, it might amplify or diminish the quota impact. No evidence that voters respond to quota (Bagues and Campa, 2019; Besley et al., 2017)
- ▶ Policy changes hard to measure. Also not obvious what should be the size of the mandated increase in female representation to achieve policy change. Too little evidence from Western democracies to draw conclusions
- ▶ No evidence that “quality” of politicians deteriorates. On the contrary!

Quota or not Quota?

Why not. But..

Why not. But..

Important to understand what is the most efficient design,
given context - marginal increases? big push? risk of
tokenisms? critical mass?

Why not. But..

Important to understand what is the most efficient design, given context - marginal increases? big push? risk of tokenisms? critical mass?

Candidate quotas unlikely to be “enough” to increase “substantial representation”. To be combined with other measures, which also consider the supply side of the “market” and *role of parties*.

Other potentially important factor: women seem to be more affected by negative feedback. What happens on social media?

Monitor developments, collect more data and information (technology can help).

Monitor developments, collect more data and information (technology can help).

Do not become easily satisfied with positive developments. Progress not always linear.

A lot of work still ahead of us...



A lot of work still ahead of us...



A lot of work still ahead of us...



A lot of work still ahead of us...



Thank you!

pamela.campa@hhs.se Twitter: @PAMELACAMPA1



STOCKHOLM INSTITUTE OF
TRANSITION ECONOMICS